THE BANG-FOR-A-BUCK CRISIS BY EDGAR KEMLER

THE Nation

July 16, 1955
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Bryan L. Donaldson

Trouble in Paradise

The Miami Hotel Strike

J. Alvarez del Vayo

The Neutralist Case

Challenge to Geneva

Douglas F. Dowd

Europe's Sick Economy

Needed: a Forward Look

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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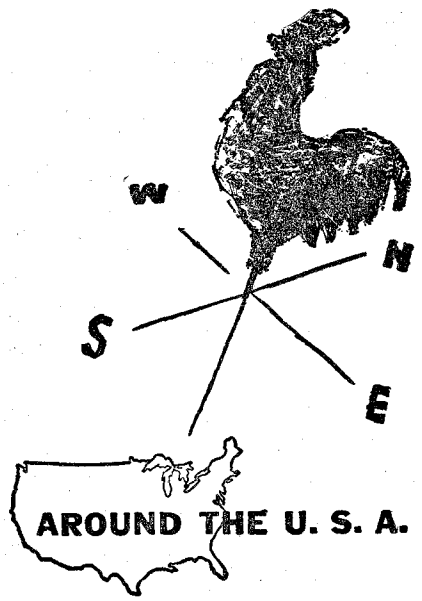

Newark Wary of Heretic Hunters

Newark, New Jersey

DESPITE the hard fact that three public-school teachers lost their jobs in the wake of hearings held here recently by the House Committee on un-American Activities, there remains the equally cogent fact that never before has that inquisitorial body encountered such meaningful resistance. Well before the committee arrived, many voices had been raised against it, ranging from categorical opposition to the principle of Congressional probes of this kind to the considered disquiet of such groups as the New Jersey State Bar Association, the Americans for Democratic Action, the New Jersey Council of Churches, the Essex County intergroup Council, and the Jewish Community Council.

"Unfairness is *not* essential to the investigative function of Congress," the latter three protestants declared in a letter to the committee. The letter insisted on the right of witnesses to confront and examine their accusers. The state bar association appointed a committee of observers to "keep an eye on the hearings in Newark," as the Associated Press put it.

This is not to say, however, that the committee was without support. On the contrary, the advance build-up accorded it—particularly by the Newark *Star-Ledger*—was a throwback to the heydey of McCarthy. The customary civic, fraternal, and veterans' organizations fell over themselves to welcome the probers. At the outset, the committee appeared to display more concern for its opponents than for its supporters, solemnly promising not to conduct a witch hunt. But the appearance of the first in a long line of unfriendly witnesses sufficed to cause the committee to revert to type. Smears, intimidation, and the staged entrances of informers became the order of the day. Not many who were present will forget the treatment accorded John O. Bigelow by committee Chairman Francis E. Walter. Bigelow, a former justice of the state supreme court and one of New Jersey's most distinguished citizens, who appeared at the hearings as counsel for one of the witnesses, asked at one point for the right to make a statement. The chairman sharply ruled this elder statesman out of order without even extending him the courtesy of an explanation.

At the hearings' conclusion the teachers who had invoked the Fifth Amendment were suspended. The city council hastily passed measures requiring some 6,500 municipal workers to take a loyalty oath and to fill out a questionnaire based on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. A full-scale investigation of "Communists and other subversives" was proposed. But it was not long before the opposition within the community began to assert itself. Overflow meetings to register various forms of protests were held by such diverse groups as the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the Americans for Democratic Action, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Jewish War Veterans, the Essex County Intergroup Council, and the New Jersey Council of Churches. At these meetings the consensus was that people should not suffer public scorn or lose their jobs for having invoked the Fifth Amendment. The Teachers Union—A. F. of L. backed the suspended teachers and proceeded to raise money for their defense. A city councilman challenged the questionnaire employing the Attorney General's list, citing former Senator Harry P. Cain's criticisms.

The motion to launch a probe of the city's workers was defeated; its author was forced to resign as president of the New Jersey Region of the American Jewish Congress. The Newark *Evening News*, largest daily in the state, demanded that there be no "red hunt." Even the strident voice of the *Star-Ledger* subsided, its editors reconsidering their previous approval not only of the questionnaire but of the loyalty oath. "We are equally dubious about [the oath]" the newspaper said. "We can assume that all other Americans love their country. We don't have to force them to prove it."

THE situation in Newark developed to the point where Congressman Walter, on the eve of the final meeting of the Board of Education to decide the teachers' fate, delivered a scathing attack against the board for its slowness in "discharging un-American school teachers." The board voted to dismiss the teachers by a five-to-four ballot. Thus only a single vote saved the committee from utter rout in Newark. And the total record of the board's debates does not read well for the heretic hunters. Impassioned declarations by the minority in favor of the Bill of Rights and against the committee would have been unthinkable in any American city twelve short months ago. Teachers' counsel were successful in having the secret testimony of the ubiquitous ex-Communist, Bella Dodd, expunged from the record of the board's proceedings on the grounds that the committee had violated its own rules in releasing her testimony.

The board dismissed the teachers solely on the ground that public-school teachers who invoke their rights under the Constitution render themselves "unfit" for their jobs. Such, at least, was the effect of the ruling. Defense counsel are confident that the decision will be reversed upon appeal.

CHARLES R. ALLEN

Has Socialism Failed?

In an early issue of *The Nation*, Scott Nearing, veteran Socialist leader, and Herman Singer, editor of the *Socialist Call*, answer G. D. H. Cole's charge that democratic socialism has failed.

Coming soon in The Nation

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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

The Burdett Story

The public hearings on the Winston Burdett story were cleverly timed to coincide with the annual convention of the American Newspaper Guild. Officials of the C. B. S. network concede that they had known Burdett's story since 1951; it could hardly, therefore, have been a recent discovery by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee which staged the hearings. By holding the inquiry at this time, the Burdett story could be used to smear the guild and put it under pressure to adopt a constitutional amendment barring Communists from membership. It was hoped, too, that the guild could be placed on the defensive generally by being made responsible, in the public's eye, for the failure of the Brooklyn *Eagle*. The guild delegates rejected the proposed constitutional amendment but decided not to resist the firing of members who have admitted in an open hearing "by a competent government agency or a court of competent jurisdiction" that they have been members of the Communist Party within a period of six months preceding their dismissal.

The Burdett story was calculated to put the guild on the defensive by suggesting the following phoney syllogism: once there were some Reds on the staff of the Brooklyn *Eagle;* once, too, there were some Reds who were officials of the Newspaper Guild; later the Brooklyn *Eagle* ceased publication following the collapse of negotiations with the guild; therefore, any dispute with the guild which leads to a strike is presumably instigated by Reds. To be sure, the logic is crazy; but the subcommittee has never been logical.

Challenge to the Press

The subcommittee, however, appears to be only indirectly interested in the guild; its real concern is with the American press. For several years now the various committees have been staging hit-and-run attacks on the press, becoming a little bolder with each sortie into the domain of the First Amendment that has gone unrebuked. In the Burdett hearing, a widely respected reporter for the New York *Times,* Charles Grutzner, was seated before the kleig lights and mikes and grilled about some stories he had written from Korea—ten years after he had ceased to be a member of the Communist Party. Not only was Grutzner's patriotism and loyalty impugned by this line of questioning but it was clearly suggested that the stories were "slanted" and much was made of the fact that the air force had been displeased by them. As in the past, the sub-committee retreated an inch or two by conceding that the *Times* had published the stories in good faith. But the retreat came only after the smear was launched.

Once again, the American press failed to meet with unanimity, vigor, and intelligence a clear challenge to the guarantee of its freedom set forth in the First Amendment. The time may yet come when the press will want to invoke the Constitutional guarantee against Congressional inquisitors; will it then be too late? The grilling of Grutzner is merely the latest in a long chain of incidents in which Congressional committees have been indirectly insisting on their right to demand an accounting from American editors of what they publish as news and of what appears in their editorial columns. If the challenge were direct and explicit, it would probably be met head on; but it has come indirectly, in installments, accompanied by disclaimers. But sooner or later the press will have to stand its ground. Like the guild, it has been placed on public notice that it is under Congressional scrutiny.

That Man Lattimore

On June 30 the perjury indictment returned against Owen Lattimore on December 16, 1952, was dismissed, and the long, bitterly fought case came to an end. Nearly everyone—note exceptions for Senator Jenner and the columnist David Lawrence—seemed relieved; even the Attorney General and his zealous assistant, Leo Rover, appeared to be glad that their "ordeal" was at an end. But we are not willing to let the case expire in this quiet fashion without a word or two of comment about Owen Lattimore. Every scholar, writer, editor, columnist, and newspaperman—indeed the country's entire assortment of eggheads—owes a debt to him which it would be difficult to estimate and which can never be repaid. In a sense, the Lattimore affair was the pivot of the accelerated witch-hunt which began with Senator McCarthy's Wheeling, West Virginia, speech of 1950. Fortunately for all of us, Senator McCarthy picked a most courageous, "unfriendly," noncooperative victim; from the outset, Lattimore fought back with every resource at his command, asking for no quarter and giving none, and offering no apologies for views he had voiced or positions he had taken. Most American intellectuals admired his courage but some joined his pursuers and demanded his scalp with no less vehemence than that exhibited by the late Senator McCarran. The most disgraceful chapter in the record of the behavior of American intellectuals during the domestic cold war consists of these shrill, venomous,

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flanking attacks on Lattimore from self-styled defenders of "cultural freedom."

Not only do we salute the courage of Owen Lattimore—and the remarkable courage and fortitude of Mrs. Lattimore—but we also admire the extraordinary good humor and patience which he exhibited throughout his long and trying ordeal. Never, for a moment, was Lattimore the martyr; in general his attitude seemed to be that he was damned if those blokes down in Washington were going to push him around and get away with it. Too often scholars who can stand up to other scholars quail before political hoodlums; not Lattimore. Future historians of American intellectual freedom should reserve a chapter for his sturdy defense of that freedom.

The South African Dictatorship

By enlarging the Appellate Division of the South African Supreme Court from six to eleven members and requiring all eleven judges to participate and to decide by majority vote when the validity of acts of parliament are in question, and by increasing the size of the Senate from forty-eight to eighty-nine members, the Nationalist Party of Prime Minister Strydom has sounded the death knell of parliamentary democracy in the union. No legislative obstacles can now prevent the declaration of a republic, and the enlarged Supreme Court is not likely to uphold the "entrenched clauses" provision of the constitution which was used in 1952 to protect the franchise for the Cape Colored voters. Furthermore even this newly packed court, with the quorum restriction, may be denied the right to pass on acts of parliament in order to ensure "the further implementation of *apartheid*." At the same time a series of new measures have been adopted which severely restrict the liberties of all citizens, white as well as colored, and give the police unprecedented powers to enter homes and attend private meetings without warrants. The bill to enlarge the Senate was passed after twenty-nine hours of continuous debate during the course of which Mr. Strydom was asked why he did not seek to get the two-thirds majority he needs for his program by calling for a general election. His reply has the merit of frankness. The bill, he said, was simply the outcome of "a series of frustrating tactics by the opposition."

The undisguised ruthlessness of this latest Nationalist putsch has aroused some opposition, for the first time, within the Nationalist camp. Thirteen instructors of the University of Pretoria have recorded their protests publicly. But the professors' protest was greeted with such savage fury that little further opposition is anticipated. Only the outward form of parliamentary government remains in South Africa today. The government is a dictatorship that acknowledges no judicial, legislative, or constitutional restrictions on its power to implement the *volkswil* which it equates with the decisions of the Nationalist Party.

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are represented by McCarthyism and Knowlandism. When a people, for example, feels that it is especially endowed by nature, or other source, with the ability to cope with problems just through will, regardless of knowledge or special training, it is prone to frown on experts, even to look upon experts and learned men in all fields as dangerous or somehow treasonous, and select stupid men or demagogues for the most important responsibilities of government, considering ignorance to be somehow beneficial. This is not to say that Jackson was stupid or a demagogue, nor do I think Professor Ward intended to convey that idea. I myself continue to have a lingering admiration for old Andy. But it is to say that the ideas which made Jackson a symbol of his age can be dangerous in our own age, to the extent that they still prevail, and that this book, a brilliantly successful example of an unorthodox approach to a problem of history, performs a real service in bringing them to the surface in a striking way. It conveys a strong though implied moral that America must emerge from adolescence into maturity where its statesmen are concerned if it is to understand itself and also its true role in the world today.

Once over Lightly

CHIANG KAI-SHEK. By Emily Hahn. Doubleday and Company. $5.

By O. Edmund Clubb

AMERICAN thinking having for years so closely identified China with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, a definitive biography of the man would be of high value. Miss Hahn knows China and is a skilled writer; she had a good start in the field with her books "The Soong Sisters" and "China to Me." But her picture of Chiang is not an authentic likeness.

She portrays Chiang as a boy memorizing the first two books of the Confucian classics by the age of seven. But that precocious classicism was tempered by a rebellious nature—molded, in proper tradition, by patriotism. Chiang the youth is shown being initiated into the secret Chinese political society, the Tung Meng Hui, soon after his arrival in Japan for study in 1907. On that occasion he took a solemn oath to work for the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty, the establishment of a republic, and "the solution of the agrarian question by equitable distribution of the land." Miss Hahn says that those principles were "a genuine three" which had been evolved by Sun Yat-sen "after studying a certain amount of Western socialism." An unwary reader might easily infer that Dr. Sun's Three People's Principles had been evolved by 1911, if not 1907, and that Chiang was closely associated with the Chinese revolution and the Kuomintang from their early beginnings.

Objective histories of the period, such as George E. Sokolsky's monograph on "The Kuomintang" in the 1928 "China Year Book," do not bear out the suggestion that Chiang Kai-shek was among the prime movers of the revolution. And Sun's Three Principles were set forth in a lecture series only in 1924, under the inspiration of Soviet adviser Borodin.

The book next touches lightly on a veiled period of Chiang's life—1912-18. Miss Hahn reports that Chiang severed connections with the Kuomintang leaders and, from Shanghai, "sent money home and began to enjoy city life and learned to relax among boon companions" (associates unnamed). She says that there is only one book in Chinese which comes to grips, briefly, with the question of Chiang's life at that time by describing it as "a period of rather riotous living." The author finds it difficult to fathom the meaning of this: did Chiang drink, gamble? She suggests elsewhere that he might, in his lifetime, have been slightly naughty with the ladies. But she gave general clearance: "Only the Westerner considers this sort of thing as something shameful. The young man of 1913 was not a monster. He merely behaved like the other men of his world." It must nevertheless be recorded that there *are* Chinese interpretations that are notably less charitable to Chiang Kai-shek than is Miss Hahn's—for example, Tang Leang-li's "The Inner History of the Chinese Revolution" (London, 1930), pp. 252-55.

But we come to the vital matter of the Kuomintang's first collaboration with the Chinese Communists, under Soviet tutelage, 1924-27. Miss Hahn mutes the Soviet note. She reports that Chiang spent four months in the U. S. S. R. in 1923; but "his brief visit was not highly important either to him or his hosts." Hollington K. Tong in his "authorized biography," "Chiang Kai-shek—Soldier and Statesman" (Shanghai, 1937), contrariwise states that Chiang made his trip armed with letters from Sun Yat-sen to various Soviet leaders and was "very well received" at Moscow. Tong reports that Chiang, on his return to Canton in December, "made a favorable report on certain aspects of the Soviets and suggested a reorganization of the Kuomintang along the line of improvements which his observations in Russia had suggested to him." (That reorganization took place in January, 1924.) Miss Hahn herself, like Tong, notes that Chiang in Russia discussed plans for establishing the Whampoa Military Academy; but Tong goes on to assert that it was Chiang who selected General Bluecher as Chief of Staff at the new school. Chiang, be it noted, became head of the academy when it opened in June, 1924, with Communist Chou En-lai as his political commissar. In short, Chiang's trip to Russia substantially advanced the Kuomintang cause—and his own.

In the pattern of her book "The Soong Sisters," the biography now merges into China's history. The author would explain away derogatory comment regarding certain historical episodes. She attributes criticism of Chiang's split from the Wuhan government in 1927 to "Communist sympathizers," and says that as the result of their writings "there is left in American minds a residue, a conviction that he didn't behave nicely." The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 commands attention for several pages but fades out after the 1932 battle of Shanghai. Miss Hahn remarks the contemporary condemnation of Chiang for failing to send help to

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O. EDMUND CLUBB, a retired American Foreign Service officer, spent twenty years in Far Eastern posts.

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off to it for that, at least. The same cannot be said of France."

The second interesting development was the meeting of the executive committee of the Radical Party, at which the future of Mendes-France was undoubtedly a major point of discussion. No one expects that the ex-Premier can return to power before next year's elections. Premier Faure, his most important party rival, is at the moment in a strong position. The country is enjoying more prosperity than it has for years. Taking advantage of this fact, Faure prevailed upon his Cabinet to approve a 180-billion-franc wage increase for civil servants, thus winning to himself the support of many workers and at the same time averting what might have turned out to be a disastrous general strike. In foreign affairs, the Premier is doing what he can to capitalize on the ardent hopes of the French people that Geneva may prove a turning point in the cold war.

Mendes-France could return to power *after* the 1956 elections, however. This might depend upon his readiness to accept the indirect support of the Communists, for the 200 seats which the Radicals and the Socialists might get between them in the elections would not alone be sufficient for him. Communist abstentions, let alone affirmative support, could put him in office. But whether he would accept this indirect help is still a question, although some who know him well insist that once the elections are over he will prove more amenable.

This leads us to the third interesting development of recent weeks: the 47th Congress of the French Socialist Party. It was not, on the whole, an inspiring performance. The congress did vote to take back into the party the seventeen deputies who had defied party discipline to vote against German disarmament in the National Assembly. In other matters the party clung grimly to the narrow partisanship which has so often nearly destroyed it in the past. In the last elections for the French Senate, it will be recalled, Socialists in many localities ignored party orders to collaborate with Communists. In many instances the results were fruitful for the Socialists. Yet at the congress speaker after speaker rose to demand that the policy of non-cooperation with the extreme Left be maintained with the greatest sternness.

Evidently the Socialist leadership is hoping that a Center-Left coalition can emerge out of the 1956 balloting which would bring Mendes-France back to power and the Socialists back into the government. But the arithmetic of French politics foreshadows a different result. In all likelihood the choice that will have to be made a year from now will be between a *Front Populaire* which will have the active or passive support of the Communists, or a coalition of the Right. The evolution of the international situation may in the end strongly influence the final outcome.

J. A. del V.

THE NEUTRALIST CASE

Challenge to Geneva . . *by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

Paris

NOT long ago "negotiation" was a subversive word. It would be amusing and instructive to set down in parallel columns the abuse that has been heaped upon those who like *The Nation* have for years argued steadily for negotiation, and the recent official statements from Washington favoring the same objective. But now that Geneva has clothed "negotiation" in respectability, "neutrality" has become the dirty word. Since the Austrian peace treaty was signed, the concept of a "neutral belt" across the Continent which would act as a cushion between East and West has gained mightily in popularity.

Walter Lippmann has pointed out correctly that neutrality was not invented by the Russians, although they have been exploiting the concept astutely. Certainly it has gained strength in Italy, where the election of Gronchi to the presidency indicates that 100 per cent pro-NATO, pro-Western statesmen have lost favor. The same is true in West Germany, although I do not agree with some of those who think that the neutralist pressures upon Chancellor Adenauer are so great that he will go to Moscow hat in hand. Undoubtedly the intellectual stronghold of neutralism remains in France, where men like Herbert Beuve-Mery, editor of *Le Monde*, and Claude Bourdet, editor of *l'Observateur*, are among its most persuasive exponents.

Beuve-Mery argues in favor of a "military neutrality which means neither military impotence nor the abandonment of politics." What he wants is the extension in Europe, with East-West agreement, of the "Swiss precedent." And he foresees the danger that the Soviet Union, by embracing neutralism at the Big Four conference, may force the West into the unenviable position of having nothing to offer a peace-hungry world but rigid adherence to the Paris agreements and the rearmament of Germany.

Claude Bourdet was a neutralist at a time when the word sounded as extreme as cubism did when Picasso started the vogue. He has maintained his position with remarkable consistency, regardless of whether he was attacked from the Left or from the Right. There was a time when Bourdet thought Tito was wrong in seeking the support of

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the West instead of trying to achieve a real neutrality; nevertheless, he defended Tito against the bitter tirades of the Communists. This particular position put Bourdet in a crossfire, the Communists attacking him because they then had no use for neutrality, and the right because they thought that neutrality played into the hands of the Russians.

THE simple truth is that the neutralists are no more pro-Russian than they are pro-American. They are pro-peace. They are convinced that the cold war, if it lasts long enough, must inevitably erupt into a hot one. Skeptical of the capacity of either the French or British governments to put up effective opposition to some of the more extreme American policies, they think that the only way to avoid war is to put as many neutral states as possible between the two main antagonists, the Soviet Union and the United States.

Neutrality as a juridical concept was given little serious consideration until the eighteenth century, when Bynkershoek asserted the right of a state to refuse to risk its existence by taking sides in a war. Wattel in 1753 sharpened and strengthened the new juridical tenet. In the following century the Italian campaign of 1859 and the Franco-German war of 1870 put to the test the principle of neutrality that had already gained much headway in the Congress of Vienna. The concept as it is accepted today dates back to the Hague Convention of 1907 and is based on two principles: the right of a nation to be impartial as between belligerents and its right to refrain altogether from hostilities. During World War I, when passions aroused by the conflict swept far beyond the boundaries of the belligerent countries, the idea of neutrality met with general hostility. The hostility diminished between the wars when the League of Nations failed to create an effective system of collective security, but it flared again with the outbreak of World War II. Neutrals were despised. The Swiss were regarded as a nation of small tradesmen who were profiting from the sufferings of others. Nevertheless Swiss neutrality, first recognized juridicially in 1815, has been confirmed again and again by the major powers in a series of international conventions and treaties, and has never been violated.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Chance for a Broad View

In view of the tendency of European neutralists to look to Switzerland as a model, it is important to note that to Geneva neutralism means neither pacifism nor disarmament. The Swiss army is modern and well-equipped. Only the other day a government spokesman announced plans for military reorganization in view of the developments in atomic weapons and the increased need for air defense. Switzerland's is a "dynamic" neutrality designed to exact the utmost possible cost from any violator.

Of course the most aggressive and implacable European enemy of neutralism is Chancellor Adenauer, who returned from Washington more confident than ever that the United States is committed to German rearmament under the Paris agreements. It is his opinion that the Eisenhower Administration will be able to resist any Soviet neutralist maneuvers without fear of arousing important opposition from the Democrats. The recent foreign-policy statements of Senators Johnson and George are said to have removed any fears he may have entertained on that score.

In this new Washington-London-Bonn-Paris alliance it has become a question as to who are the leaders and who the loyal followers. So experienced an observer as *France-Soir's* Pertinax writes of an "American-German *directoire*" in connection with the coming Big Four conference—and this in spite of the fact that Adenauer will himself not be present at Geneva. But it is not only the sensitive French who see the amazing Chancellor playing the role of leader. O. H. Brandon, writing in the London *Sunday Times* of the Western foreign ministers' meeting which preceded the U.N. sessions in San Francisco, had this to say:

> Although Dr. Adenauer participated in the conference . . . for little more than one hour, it was nevertheless his personality that loomed largest in this meeting—not simply because Germany's future is the apple of discord between Russia and the West but also because the Chancellor's ideas have strongly influenced the policies the West will pursue at Geneva.

In the columns of *Le Monde* a Gaullist deputy, Phillip Barres, rebels at this American-German alliance which will insure the resurgence of the Wehrmacht and which —in Barres's own phrase—contemptuously ignores France's security needs. Barres, whose name carries a great French tradition and who opposed the Paris agreements, has every right to be indignant. But other French politicians who approved the Paris treaties and now express horror at the turn of events which has transformed the Big Four into a Big Five with Bonn as the fifth member, have only themselves to blame.

Neutralists are motivated by two great fears; significantly, both in-

A Tribute to The Nation From Frank P. Graham

Frank P. Graham, former president of the University of North Carolina and since 1951 the U.N. representative for India and Pakistan, who served as co-chairman of the dinner committee for The Nation's 90th anniversary forum on Atoms for Peace on July 19, had this to say about The Nation:

"In this age, when the average length of man's life is being increased and, simultaneously, the potentiality for ending all life is being accelerated, the pressure for conformity has become most heavy and fearful. It is therefore timely that the 90th anniversary of the founding of The Nation be devoted not only to the increase of the life span of this historic publication under the leadership of a noble and courageous woman, but that it also be dedicated to the freedom of opinion in America and to the survival and the well-being of the family of man on this earth."

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approaches our ability to produce them.

If it can solve these problems, democracy may yet be a subject for hope and not for epitaph. Perhaps the authors deliberately refrained from evaluting the role of economic power. If so, a clue to their attitude may be found in their financial backers. "Voting" was subsidized by such corporations as Ford, Carnegie, Rockefeller, Standard Oil, Columbia Broadcasting System, and Readers' Digest Association. Does the piper dare play a tune discordant to the ears of those paying for the music?

Selected New Books

Fiction

THE HIDDEN RIVER. By Storm Jameson. Harper. $3. A fascinating examination of revenge and betrayal, with one of the most implacable and quietly terrifying females in recent fiction. Constructed in a series of scenes, "The Hidden River" has all the virtues of good drama—suspense, psychological depth, and backgrounds limited in scope but vivid in effect.

THE FUGITIVE ROMANS. By William Murray. Vanguard. $3.50. Pungent satire on Hollywood-in-Rome, as the movie capital takes over the Eternal City to make a technicolored Biblical epic. The book is fast moving, vitriolic, and effective, but when it tries to seem profound has an unfortunate aura of early Hemingway.

THE BRIDE OF THE INNISFALLEN. By Eudora Welty. Harcourt, Brace. $3.50. Fine-spun prose and polished indirection from Eudora Welty in a volume of determinedly sensitive short stories. Miss Welty, as usual, handles atmosphere superbly, although often at the expense of substance.

THE DAY OF THE MONKEY. By David Karp. Dial. $4.50. A moving novel of colonial tension, bigotry and counter-bigotry. Mr. Karp approaches his subject without political rhetoric or moral self-righteousness. His book deals dramatically with complex individuals in a complex situation, and presents a vivid portrait of new nationalism, old imperialism, and the Machiavellis of international power who feed on both.

THE LOVE EATERS. By Mary Lee Settle. Harper. $3. Wit, clarity, and irony combine to make this novel of a small summer theater group exceptionally good reading. Miss Settle is urbane but not mannered; she examines social facades with economy and precision.

A VILLA IN SUMMER. By Penelope Mortimer. Harcourt, Brace. $3.50. A savage novel of British suburban life and middle-class marriage. Miss Mortimer's talent for character demolition is quotable and completely devastating.

THE GOLD OF THEIR BODIES. By Charles Gorham. Dial. $3.50. A novel about Gauguin which suffers from its author's tendency to approach his subject on tiptoe. Some memorable scenes, in France and in the South Seas, redeem an otherwise pedestrian narrative.

THE OTHER PLACE. By J. B. Priestley. Harper. $3. Ironic fantasies with a basic theme — the terror of the isolated individual who suddenly confronts illogical and individually perceived truth while other people remain unaware. Priestley places a rather heavy emphasis on plot mechanism, but writes with humor and sharp observation.

O. HENRY PRIZE STORIES OF 1955. Selected and Edited by Paul Engle and Hansford Martin. Doubleday. $3.95. Competent short stories intelligently selected for moments of real interest. A pleasant volume for readers who enjoy short, well-crafted fiction.

THE GOODLY SEED. By John Wyllie. Dutton. $3. A perceptive first novel of a Japanese prison camp in World War II. Unlike many war novels it does not depend on externals; Wyllie's drama derives from the clash of personalities. Using neither blood and thunder nor prison-camp rumor, his book presents an effective picture of men under pressure—Japanese as well as prisoners.

THE RED PETTICOAT. By Bryan MacMahon. Dutton. $3. The lift and flash of poetic wit that Bryan MacMahon's readers have come to expect appear only sporadically in this volume of short stories. An unwelcome sense of strain makes it a disappointing book.

THE BLACK PRINCE AND OTHER STORIES. By Shirley Ann Grau. Knopf. $3.50. Shirley Ann Grau is another talented young Southerner who writes stories. While her material is not limited to moonlight and magnolias, her work has a pseudo-folk quality many readers will find cloying. This is especially true when she writes of Negroes, who emerge as either simple or sensual.

STANLEY COOPERMAN

Politics

LET THE CHIPS FALL. My Battles Against Corruption. By Newbold Morris in Collaboration with Dana Lee Thomas. Appleton-Century-Crofts. $4. An astringent view of practical politics in New York and Washington. It is most valuable for its anecdotal account of Mayor LaGuardia's twelve-year administration and the evidence that city government can be exciting and constructive.

THE DIGNITY OF MAN. By Russell W. Davenport. Harper. $4. A serious effort by the late editor of Fortune to outline a philosophy of industrial man in a collectivized society. Long convinced that America has no real doctrine, Davenport devoted the last two years of his life to an attempt to formulate a philosophy "coherent with the past, yet outspread toward the future."

THE POLITICAL IDEAS OF HAROLD J. LASKI. By Herbert A. Deane. Columbia. $5.75. With elaborate detail and copious citation an American political scientist demonstrates that "Laski's political teachings were not of major philosophic significance or profundity." To his students, however, he conveyed the excitement of thinking and his faith that men could build a better world.

AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT. By Alan Pendleton Grimes. Holt. $6. Although Professor Grimes presents no unique interpretations, he has written a useful orthodox summary of American political thought. Bibliographical essays for each chapter provide valuable suggestions for readers who desire to read original documents and interpretative monographs.

H. H. WILSON.

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gain with a union representin a majority of their workers, but ıe law fails to state how that majority is to be proved.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that Florida has no labor-relations board to handle labor disputes. The National Labor Relations Board has rejected jurisdiction over hotels. Senator Douglas of Illinois has asked the N. L. R. B. to reconsider its policy "in the light of the obvious impact upon commerce which a labor dispute in the hotel industry could have." The Taft-Hartley Act, he said, provides no basis for the exclusion of an industry in interstate commerce. He accused the N. L. R. B. of leaving the hotel dispute here to the "law of the jungle." The National Mediation and Conciliation Service also has declared a hands-off policy, as has Governor LeRoy Collins. Miami Beach officials refuse to get involved.

What the union is up against was made clear when the owners of six hotels sued in the Dade Circuit Court to ban picketing on the ground that there was violence on the picket lines and that the picketing was illegal. A panel of three judges turned down the plea, ruling that there had been no violence, though they withheld a decision as to the legality of the picketing. The hotels then appealed to the state Supreme Court, which ruled that the picketing was illegal because the union had not proved it represented the employees. The Circuit Court was directed to issue an order banning the pickets. At the union's request, however, the Supreme Court set down a procedure which it said the union should follow to prove it represented the employees.

THIS procedure consisted of three steps: (1) before picketing a hotel the union should submit in writing to management a claim of majority representation and proof of this claim; (2) it should submit a list of specific demands; and (3) it should give adequate notice of its intention to picket if the hotel failed to negotiate and declare its purpose in picketing. In an effort to follow this procedure the union announced plans for an industry-wide strike vote. But no responsible group was willing to supervise the vote. So the union went ahead in a "do-it-yourself" election supervised by a radio commentator. Employees of eighty-seven hotels, including the six which had brought suit, voted to strike. The union said the vote was "overwhelmingly" in favor of a strike at every hotel whose workers took part in the election. Hotel men claimed the vote was "illegal" and of "no consequence."

After the vote the union sent letters to the managements of hotels in accordance with the procedure set down by the Supreme Court. Every hotel referred the matter to its attorney, who turned down the union's request to negotiate. More hotels were picketed but not struck. Meanwhile the union had appealed to the Circuit Court to withdraw the injunctions which banned picketing at the six hotels involved in the test case. The Circuit Court found that the union had followed the procedure recommended by the Supreme Court and declared the picketing was legal. Picket lines were restored at the six hotels immediately.

Attorneys for the hotels, alleging the hotels were losing thousands of dollars, then asked the Supreme Court to reinstate its anti-picketing order pending a final decision as to the legality of the picketing. Without giving its reasons, the Supreme Court ordered a temporary end to picketing. A final ruling on whether the picketing is legal or not is expected in several weeks. The union already has served notice that if the decision goes against it, it will appeal to the United States Supreme Court.

Pickets are now limited to two hotels, and the union is biding its time. It has a constitutional convention coming up and then an election of officers. "This will keep us busy for a time," union spokesmen say. Herman has not revealed what he plans to do while waiting for the United States Supreme Court to hear the union's appeal against the verdict of the state court in case that is adverse. Until the winter season starts he has indicated he will be "consolidating."

Many people have asked why the union waited to strike until the start of the summer season. The union's answer is that the people now working in the hotels are the hard core of the employees, the ones who make a business of hotel work and have staked their future on it,

C.I.O. News
Now you see it—now you don't

as contrasted with the drifters who work during the "season." The union's theory is that a labor organization that can improve their lot means more to the resident workers. It also argues that if it had waited until the winter season to call a strike the hotels would have had no trouble in finding replacements. Actually, the theory hasn't worked out too well. The hotels have all the employees they need, plus a waiting list. That is because business is so poor, the union says.

Evidently the dispute will go on for some time. Through its locals all over the country the union is conducting a vigorous campaign to influence possible visitors to stay away from Miami Beach. It is using newspaper advertisements, radio announcements, and demonstrations in Northern cities, and even on the Pacific coast, to publicize its side of the story. Several weeks ago thousands of waiters in New York City staged a demonstration to indicate their sympathy for the Miami Beach strikers.

The hotels are carrying on just as vigorous a campaign to counteract the union's efforts. They are advertising extensively in Northern papers in an attempt to convince the public that the dispute is not affecting hotel service or general resort conditions. Through the Miami Beach Hotel Association they have sent telegrams to seventy-five newspapers in the North threatening them with libel suits if they print the union's ads telling the public of strikes at certain hotels in Florida. So far as is known, a Philadelphia newspaper is the only one that has turned down a union ad. The union has announced that it will ask a Senate investigating committee to look into this phase of the dispute.

Neither side is willing to say how

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much it is spending, but the hotels recently disclosed that they had increased their advertising budget by $50,000 a week to counteract the union's campaign. Each hotel has also probably spent $5,000 in attorney's fees. Hotels which have succeeded in getting picketing banned by the courts have had to put up bonds ranging from $2,500 to $5,000. No figures are available as to what the battle is costing the union, but reliable reports put it at about $10,000 a day in this area alone.

Both sides apparently have lots of money to invest. The union's executive committee convened here recently and voted to provide unlimited funds for the duration of the dispute. Locals in the 425,000-member union have been asked to contribute. According to a union publication of June 4, about $192,000 had been collected so far.

The Miami Beach hotels directly affected are not operated by any of the major hotel corporations, though both the Schine and Hertfield corporations own and operate hotels here. There is a handful of owners who have grown up with the hotel industry, but many hotels are controlled by speculative interests. One is owned and operated by a man once called the "king of the punchboard industry." Some of the hotels took quite a pasting when Senator Estes Kefauver's committee conducted its investigation into racketeering here a few years ago.

Miami Beach hotels are all making money. The union charges they are making it at the employees' expense. There is no minimum-wage law in Florida, and according to the union hotels pay their help from $5 to $7 a day for a ten-hour and in some cases a twelve-hour day. The union contends that the seven-day week is common, without overtime, and that there are no paid holidays and no vacations with pay. Hotel men will not discuss wages and hours, but they say the employees get more than the union admits and they scoff at the union's seven-day-week charge. They also argue that a majority of employees make "plenty" in tips. This the union denies.

THE BANG FOR-A-BUCK CRISIS

Does Wilson Want Out? . . . *by Edgar Kemler*

Washington.

AT FIRST glance nobody seems better equipped to take the hysteria out of our defense establishment than "Engine Charlie" Wilson, the controversial Secretary of Defense. Certainly no Secretary has ever worked harder at it. Over the opposition of admirals and air-force generals he has abolished the so-called "crash" system of weapons development, the system that produced the ill-fated, now obsolete B-36 long-range bombers. New-model jet fighters and jet bombers are now leisurely tested and remodeled for five and eight years, respectively, instead of for two and three years, before being mass produced. Although this system is both efficient and economical—last year it helped save the Defense Department one and three-quarter billion dollars—it is now in jeopardy, for Congress is forcing upon Wilson $356,000,000 for speeding up the production of B-52 bombers 35 per cent and an additional $50,000,000 for testing new jet fighters—a total of more than $500,000,000.

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If Wilson's system has been rejected, it is because he never fully explained his reasons for setting it up. In January, 1953, his first month in office, he knew that by January, 1957, if not earlier, the Russians would unquestionably have the same capacity for annihilating us that we would have for annihilating them. Thus, big-time war was definitely on the way out, and to continue the arms race with Russia as if war still loomed was not only wasteful but immoral. As Wilson recently told a House appropriations subcommittee, it would tempt us "to throw our weight around too much and frighten everybody." On the economy argument, of course, the Eisenhower Administration stands foresquare with Wilson. On the moral argument Secretary of State Dulles, Vice-President Nixon, and other tough-talking colleagues are miles away from him. It is in deference to them that he has maintained that he was slowing down arms production in order to get better results and not to mark time in the arms race.

His claim to be giving a "bigger bang for a buck" has changed Wilson from the miracle man of Eisenhower's Cabinet into its most vulnerable member. Any disgruntled service man from General Ridgway down—and they are all disgruntled in our economy-size army—can make him look silly. This is a bitter and disillusioning experience for Wilson. The other day he spoke of how different it was at General Motors, where he had the respect of his subordinates and nobody tried to "end-run" him because he knew too much about the business for them to get away with it.

WILSON'S—and Eisenhower's—efforts to muzzle "end-runners" by permitting "constructive" news only has failed. As one result of the censorship, the Pentagon was virtually tongue-tied in mid-May when the Russians revealed that they had at least twenty B-52 superbombers—we have perhaps three. Nobody explained, though all the experts knew, that Russia needed these bombers for its atomic-retaliation plans, while we did not need them for ours. We already have two formidable striking forces—the B-47 medium jet-bombers based on overseas fields adjacent to Soviet Russia (the Soviet B-47's cannot reach the United States), and the Mediterran-

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ean carrier force, which is regarded as a mobile second force bolstering the first. A striking force of B-52's has long been considered preferable to the other two but not essential—even after an advance warning of the Russian B-52 build-up last year. There was such a loud protest against the new $200,000,000 aircraft carriers of the Forrestal type—the fifth will be authorized this year—that Wilson may have been reluctant to speed up construction of the $8,000,000-B-52's, which are even less urgently needed than the carriers.

Once the strength of the Russian air force was revealed and its effect on our so-called air superiority was explained by an anti-Wilson intelligence officer, Brigadier General W. M. Burgess, Wilson's slow-down program was finished. The press simply could not understand why Wilson could not hold the "lead" with more than 10 per cent of the country's wealth going into the defense effort. Wilson stubbornly refused to authorize a speedup of B-52's until—it is reported—his Air Secretary, Harold Talbott, threatened to resign. Now rumors are circulating that Wilson, because of his defeat, is preparing for his own resignation. Whether this is true or not, there is something awe-inspiring about his resistance to demagoguery. Although he has assured the public at least a hundred times that the United States still rules the air, when he was asked this question again in a secret session of the Senate Appropriations Committee he replied cryptically, "We say we do"—as if to underscore the irrelevance of the question.

WILSON'S stature appears further enhanced when we compare him with his partisan Democratic critic, Senator Stuart Symington. In Symington's defense, however, it may be said that if Wilson were a Democratic Defense Secretary being grilled by a Republican Congress, he would probably be charged with treason instead of mere penny-pinching. Having been accused of economy as if it were a crime, Wilson is immune to the criticism of Representative George Mahon of Texas, who blames him for not pushing economy far enough. Mahon, as head of a House appropriations subcommittee, has discovered that the Pentagon's loose contracting amounts to a gigantic giveaway to defense industries in general and the aircraft industry in particular. Oddly enough, the Boeing Company, which makes the controversial B-52's, has benefited most from this giveaway. Between 1950 and 1954 its net profits rose 242 per cent, while its net worth increased only 79 per cent. Moreover, its net profits are now 45 per cent of its net worth—an extraordinary ratio which is reflected in a sixfold rise in the price of its stock. Mahon's staff is quietly pursuing this scandal, and more will be heard of it when Symington has quieted down.

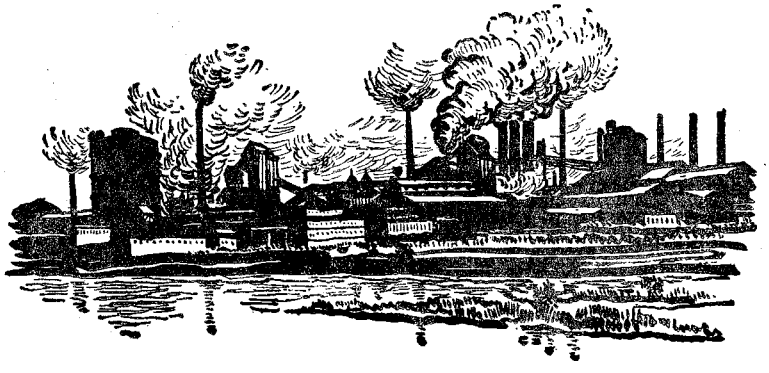
The battle over the B-52 speed-up is a bad omen for the Big Four conference, now less than two weeks off. It shows that official Washington, if not the country generally, is better prepared to face an impossible war than an actual peace. Perhaps President Eisenhower had this in mind when he warned people not to expect miracles from the conference. He may have been thinking more of the restraints imposed on him by the inhibitions of official Washington than of possible traps set by the once stubborn, now conciliatory Russians. To break through those inhibitions is Eisenhower's greatest problem.

EUROPE'S SICK ECONOMY

Needed: a Forward Look . . *by Douglas F. Dowd*

ONLY a confirmed pessimist can now doubt that the chances for peace in Europe have improved enormously in the last few months. For this happy train of events to continue for more than the short run, however, the European economy has to function in some relatively satisfactory manner. To argue otherwise is to fly in the face of history. The years between the two world wars were years of profound economic dislocation and disturbance, and who would deny that the ugly political developments of the period and the war they brought on were largely due to that economic chaos? In the decade since the war, Europe has moved away from the economic patterns of the two decades preceding it. How far? In what direction? For how long?

The European economy was in terrible shape before World War II, and subsequent developments have punched it out of shape even more. With a significant movement toward a basically peace-time economy in Western Europe, a presumed lessening of armaments expenditures, and the planned disappearance of Amer-



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ican aid, it is almost certain that some of the pre-war problems will re-emerge with added complications. The basic characteristics and developments of the interwar period in Europe are dealt with extensively in a recent U. N. publication, "Growth and Stagnation in The European Economy," by Professor Svennilson of Stockholm. I shall lean on his work in what follows.

ONE learns nothing from the simple drawing of parallels. It is nevertheless intriguing to note the degree of parallelism that does exist in the first decade or so following World War I as compared with that following World War II. Western Europe—meaning the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, the Benelux and Scandinavian countries—has enjoyed a boom in the last five years. It did so in the years 1925-1929, too. In both cases the boom was preceded by five years or more of distress and difficulty. In both cases the European boom rested to a critical extent on prosperity in the United States; and, in the present boom, on cold- and Korean-war stimuli. In the earlier period, the reaction to the boom was to assume that the pre-1913 "normalcy" had been or was on its way to being regained. That attitude now seems to be spreading as regards the present boom, although here and there a cautious voice is heard. Europe's boom of the 1920's was shattered when the depression began in the United States in 1929; whether a similar catastrophe awaits should be a leading question of the day.

Few think America will again experience a depression as sharp or as deep as that of the thirties. There is even less reason to believe that the current boom in America will last. With no slackening in armament expenditures, an optimistic estimate would place the duration of present levels of employment and income at a year and a half at most. If and when recession sets in here, it will doubtless be gradual; doubtless also it will not be allowed to fall to the levels of the thirties. But the international repercussions of such a recession are still likely to be severe, because more of the world leans more heavily on us than was the case in the interwar period. In the last fifteen years, the bull in the china shop has grown faster than the shop.

It appears that today what is still hoped for is essentially the quality and the environment of European and world economic affairs as they existed prior to 1913—with "convertibility" as the symbol of all that means. The nineteenth century has certain aspects which have either been ignored or misunderstood by those who would recapture its qualities. It had, as Veblen would say, the defects of its virtues. If it was a period of vigorous economic and geographic expansion, it was also a period in which that expansion was malignant in nature. As industrialism and capitalism spread outward from England, they were wedded to a vigorous, even an aggressive nationalism—particularly in Germany and Japan. The Hundred Years' Peace, although it saw relatively few wars, was a restive peace, one in which it was wise to keep one's powder dry. England had industrialized first. Any nation which was to catch up had to run faster than England. Institutionally, this meant that the industrialization process outside of England was carried out in a framework deliberately shaped to the narrow needs of national economies.

Although it was held back to a degree in the depression of the seventies and eighties, the European economy from mid-century on enjoyed a quickened and sustained expansion. Transportation networks, mines, and mills lined and spotted the map of the world. The available

Partymiller in York Gazette and Daily

The Long Grey Line

portions of the globe were gobbled up, and those portions previously acquired were exploited more intensively. Imperialism provided cheap and increasing supplies of foodstuffs and raw materials, outlets for "surplus" capital, and markets for the industrializing nations' goods. The globe is unfortunately fixed in size, unlike national appetites and needs. Cecil Rhodes, apparently brooding on this, remarked, "I would annex the planets if I could." In the nineteenth century it was thus only a matter of time until disputes over external areas led to war.

THE first war having been fought, those who have hopes for our species thought that a lesson had been learned. But Europe once more sought the pre-war state of affairs, and once more proceeded to play out the pre-war drama—with some different players, some with different costumes, but with basically the same plot: narrow domestic markets, a beggar-my-neighbor attitude, and struggle over a fixed or reduced pie in Europe and abroad. Moreover, during the years of World War I certain developments long in the making came to a head, rendering Europe's economic problems even more difficult than they had been before 1913:

1. The American economy became the leading national economy in terms of industrial technique, productive capacity, and financial strength. Among other things, this meant American penetration of vital markets formerly held by Europeans, principally in this hemisphere but also in Europe itself. During the war, America emerged as a net creditor nation. By comparison with England, whose role as creditor had been matched with a necessarily high volume of foreign trade, the United States possessed the unfortunately combined characteristics of relative self-sufficiency and competitive superiority in foreign markets. The "dollar" shortage had its beginnings in this period, not after World War II.

2. Japan, similarly, was able to take markets away from Europeans in Asia, particularly in light manufactures.

3. European overseas economic and political dependencies became increasingly costly to maintain while the benefits from them decreased. In the period 1913-1939, for example, not only did nationalism grow to feverish heights in India; India also became transformed from an importer to an exporter of cotton cloth. Also, during World War I England lost something like one

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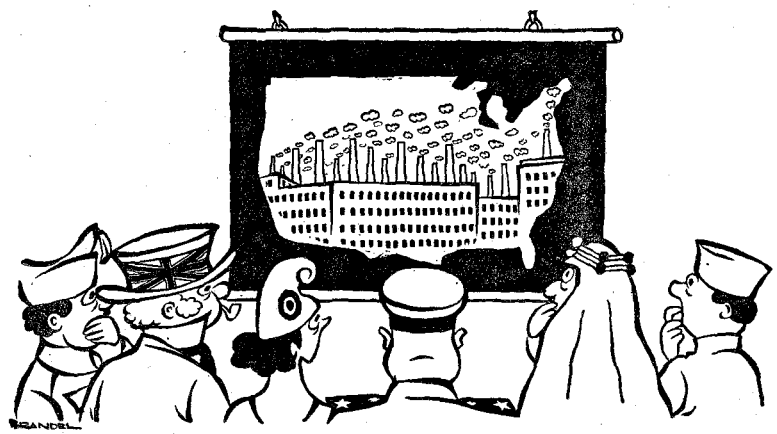

third of its earning capacity from overseas assets.

4. The checkerboard national boundaries of Europe, which had not made economic sense before World War I, became more numerous and less sensible after the war.

5. Russia became the Soviet Union and fell off as a source of primary commodities and a market for consumer and capital goods.

EUROPE'S economies were faced with a deep challenge as the 1920's began. To meet the challenge successfully, Svennilson argues, an internal and an international "transformation" was necessary. The proof is manifest in the fall of Western Europe's rate of economic growth to half that of the period 1880-1913. This was associated with persistent, and widespread unemployment, with excess capacity in all but the newer industries, and with increasing cartelization of European economies. With the onset of the depression in 1930, the cracks in the Western European economy—which had begun to appear as far back as the 1870's—widened and deepened. Nation after nation pursued policies whose nature was restrictive and autarchic, and whose result was disastrous. Nazi Germany was only more logical than its compatriots and more in keeping with the times. Such were the times.

With World War II over, we would like to think that *this* time the lesson had been learned. But it is probable that the lesson learned is more relevant to the problems of Post-war I than of Post-war II. As generals seem always to be fighting the last war, peacetime policy makers seem to be fighting the preceding peace. Old problems remain and new ones have developed since 1939:

1. Today America—which produces close to 60 per cent of all manufactured goods in the world—and its hemispheric colleagues have emerged as a virtually self-sufficient area, needing only a string of strategic raw materials found almost entirely outside of Europe.

2. Japan remains a troublesome and threatening competitor for Asian markets, and, like Germany, is prepared through aggressive commercial and technological competition to capture them.

3. What amounted to ripples in overseas dependents in the early interwar period have developed into a full-scale tidal wave. Europe's income from overseas assets today has fallen to the point where it will buy roughly a third of what it could in 1938. In addition the terms of trade between Europe and the underdeveloped countries have turned against Europe. Many colonies have been lost, and the cost of holding on to those which remain is becoming a serious burden. Markets for light manufactures in these countries are dropping off as they develop their own production of these, even to the point of exports.

4. Europe's checkerboard national boundaries remain.

5. In addition to the continuing loss of the Soviet Union as a significant part of the European trading pattern, Europe must now contemplate all of Eastern Europe as though it had sunk into the sea.

The upshot, concludes another U. N. report, "Economic Survey of Europe Since the War" (1953), is the necessity of creating a "new pattern of economic relationships harmonizing the needs and interests of Western Europe with those of other areas." Today as in the interwar period an internal and international transformation is needed. An idea has to give way to reality—the idea that Western Europe is or can be the industrial center of the world. That role now belongs to the continental-sized countries: the United States, the Soviet Union; perhaps later, China. This is not to ignore the excellent resource base of Western Europe, nor to overlook its accumulation of commercial, industrial, and financial skills. It is to say, however, that the organizational framework necessary for the satisfactory utilization of these resources and skills today is no longer national—if it ever was—but regional or continental. What has to be transformed in and out of Europe is an interrelated set of variables: products and productive methods, patterns and levels of consumption and of investment, internal and external markets. Involved are large-scale social changes and an appropriate change in social outlook. How can the changes be made, if at all?

ONE way is that of regional and international cooperation to broaden markets, stabilize finance, and coordinate production. This is the way of the European Coal and Steel Community, the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, and the European Payments Union. These organizations, and the thinking that lies behind them, constitute something of a departure from nineteenth century and pre-1940 thinking. But they may prove to differ from earlier thought and practice more in form than in substance when the present boom slows down or is reversed. For example, although the authorities administering the coal and steel organization are public rather than private, this does not preclude that in a period of contraction they will behave like their private predecessors in the earlier cartels. Indeed, even in today's good times, the High Authority of the coal and steel group is having difficulty—to use a mild word—trying to repress "Georg," the sales agency for Ruhr coal, which has been operating as a cartel would since 1952. As for the O. E. E. C., how long it will maintain life without American funds to administer and a boom to ride is at least a moot question. And whether the payments-union arrangements will survive a period of downward pres-

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sure seems subject to serious doubt.

Another means of adaptation might lie in a serious movement toward economic planning and social democracy. This, combined with regionalization, would have the effect of stimulating consumption and investment; of broadening, deepening, and rationalizing markets and productive techniques. In this respect, G. D. H. Cole's recent comments in *The Nation* regarding contemporary Socialist movements must be taken into account. Such movements are now, and are likely to remain, national in outlook and gradualist in temper. But what is needed is an international or at least a regional Socialist movement in Europe. There is no sign of one at present.

A third way out, most desirably in combination with the preceding two, lies in expanding markets abroad. The major potential area for markets lies in the underdeveloped countries. Even without cold-war restrictions, East-West trade does not promise too much, and American markets are unlikely to open much wider even with a lowering of tariff barriers. For markets in the underdevloped regions to increase significantly, however, the rate and type of economic development there must increase and change. New investment in those countries must be demonstrably for the immediate benefit of the peoples there as well as incidentally beneficial to outsiders. This is scarcely a novel observation, but in many countries as a matter of practice it retains the air of novelty. Furthermore, for the rate of development to increase, it seems to be true that the United States must act as a trigger through capital grants or very cheap loans.

There remains the distant possibility of the integration of Western and Eastern European economies. The reasons militating against this possibility are not economic, but political in nature. This is truly an imponderable, lying in an incalculable future.

WHERE does all this leave Western Europe? In a nutshell, it seems that so long as good times continue and American aid takes up slack, the stimuli to the needed degree of change are insufficient. When bad times threaten or materialize, European national economies tend to move in a direction precisely opposite from that which is required. Western Europe is faced with a profound economic problem. Now that the heat of the cold war is diminishing, it is time overdue that our best minds turn to that problem.

LABOR AND THE FARMER

Solidifying an Alliance . . . *by Robert G. Lewis*

Washington

THE bill to repeal the "sliding scale" of reduced farm-price supports enacted last year by the Republican-controlled Eighty-third Congress and to replace it with firm 90-per-cent-of-parity supports came to a vote in the House on May 5. It was a critical moment. The clerk droned through the roll call. Frequently he was interrupted by farm-bloc Congressmen from deep in Dixie who called out in a broad drawl to inquire whether they were recorded correctly. It became obvious that the shrewd Southerners were stalling the final tally to allow time for rounding up a tardy vote or two. Suddenly the room resounded with exultant cheers—rebel yells, no less—and a panting Representative hurried down the aisle to get his vote on record.

That belated vote for higher farm supports was cast by a Democrat from Chicago! The little emergency illustrated a political realignment of considerable significance today. H. R. 12 finally squeaked through by a margin of five votes, 206 to 201. The farm bloc's victory was won with the help of Democratic Congressmen from urban districts who only a year ago had voted for President Eisenhower's sliding scale. In the past two years Republican cooperation with the farm bloc has all but disappeared. This is a consequence of the remarkably effective party discipline on domestic issues enforced by the Administration. Only twenty-two Republicans voted or were paired for the repeal bill on May 5.

The place of the old bi-partisan farm bloc has been taken by a new farmer-labor bloc operating almost entirely within the Democratic Party. Votes in the House during the past three years reveal this development. In 1952 and in 1954 roll-call votes were taken on the identical issue presented this year in H. R. 12. In 1952, 65 per cent of the Republican Congressmen from rural districts voted for 90-per-cent-of-parity supports. Last year only 20 per cent of the rural Republicans voted for 90-per-cent supports. In the May 5 vote this year the percentage was the same.

In 1952 only 51 per cent of the Democrats from city districts voted for 90 per cent of parity. The percentage rose slightly to 54 per cent in 1954—not enough to offset the Republican defections. But this year 79 per cent of the city Democrats voted for 90-per-cent supports, and succeeded in overcoming the Republican desertions from the farm bloc. Democratic Congressmen from rural districts have fairly consistently backed firm farm-price supports by about nine to one.

The growing strength of farmer-labor political collaboration was made clear when Walter Reuther, president of the C. I. O., gave his views on the farm bill to the House Committee on Agriculture and when James Patton, president of the Farmers Union, spoke on minimum-wage legislation before the Senate

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Labor and Public Welfare Committee. In his carefully drafted statement, Reuther declared that the C. I. O. strongly favored legislative action which would reverse the current sharp drop in farm income and restore prosperity to farmers. Representative Harold Cooley, chairman of the committee, as an orthodox Dixie Democrat had never been conspicuously warm toward labor, particularly not the C. I. O., but he signaled the new turn in intra-party politics when he said to Reuther at the conclusion of the latter's testimony: "I regret that it was not possible for every member of both houses of Congress to have heard your speech. . . . We have had many farm leaders appear before the committee . . . and not one of them has surpassed you in the presentation of the farmers' cause." Patton, for his part, urged increasing the minimum wage from 75 cents to $1.25 an hour, and extension of its coverage to about 6,500,000 additional workers.

These demonstrations do not represent any change in economic ideology. Organized labor, both A. F. of L. and C. I. O., consistently gave at least tacit support to the New Deal farm legislation, and the Farmers Union has always befriended labor politically. What is new is that the long-standing ideological agreement between labor and the liberal farmers is now finding effective political expression. Democratic farm-bloc leaders, chiefly Southerners, are realists. More quickly than anyone else they saw the danger in the large-scale withdrawal of rural Republicans from the bi-partisan farm bloc. They had to find new allies, and there was only one place to look for them.

REPUBLICANS are naturally distressed by the new alignment of forces and are directing their fire at two sensitive spots. They are trying to excite suspicion and fear among the farmers that labor will dominate the writing of farm legislative policy, and to embarrass conservative Southern Democrats in Congress about their unaccustomed cordiality toward labor leaders. The Republican "line" was laid down succinctly by *The Farm Journal* in its first edition after passage of H. R. 12. With Robert McMillin, son of its editor, in Secretary of Agriculture Benson's

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Greener Pastures on Wall Street

office, *The Farm Journal* has a line into high G. O. P. agricultural councils. "Will organized labor take over the making of farm policy in Congress?" it queried rhetorically, noting that "it was pressure from the newly merged C. I. O.–A. F. of L. that turned the trick." The editorial wound up on this scary note: "Have farmers realized what the C. I. O.–A. F. of L. merger means, to them and to the country? . . . It's quite possible that we're headed toward a labor government, much like England's. If so, it will affect a lot more than farm policy."

Secretary Benson has sounded the same note in speeches to farm audiences, and so have other Administration orators. It was even echoed by Representative Harold Lovre, one of the rare Republicans who voted for H. R. 12, in a speech to his South Dakota constituents. Lovre was compelled to back away painfully when hard-boiled farm leaders asked him where, if not from labor districts, the rest of the needed votes to pass the bill could have come from.

The ability of Democratic leaders to deliver united party support for some of the crucial "labor" bills is still untried. But that is a test of whether the Democratic Party itself, not simply the new intra-party alliance, can hold together. Republican discipline on domestic issues spells defeat for almost any of the popular Democratic measures unless Democrats can achieve greater unity than they have displayed in recent years.

The farmer-labor alliance is much more than an expedient bargain between two groups—support for farm prices in exchange for an increased minimum wage. Its deeper meaning is that the agricultural South and West and the industrial North are developing a political program in which the interests of farmers and industrial workers can be reconciled. The community of their interests was expressed recently by President Kennedy of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen in these words: "If the city worker doesn't make enough money to feed and clothe his family adequately, obviously the farmer feels the pinch in lessened demand for his products." On the other hand, he continued, "farmers are major consumers of the industrial goods which keep our railroad men working. They buy 12.7 per cent of all rubber products, 16.6 per cent of all petroleum products, 10 per cent of all chemicals, and 9 per cent of all steel products. The drop in farm income such as has occurred since 1952 has been felt by every production and transportation worker in the nation."

President Patton of the Farmers Union based his argument for a higher minimum wage on the same mutuality of interest, declaring the wage legislation "as vital to the welfare of Farmers Union members as any agricultural bill which will come before Congress this year." He estimated that about $600,000,000, or 30 per cent, of the increased wages received would be spent for food.

THE results of such a joint program can be far-reaching. Traditionally Republican farmers are responding to the attraction of Democratic policies. The recent election of Democratic Congressmen in districts long Republican—Johnson in Wisconsin, Marshall and Knutson in Minnesota—is an index of shifting farm sentiment against the G. O. P. This shift assumed massive proportions last year in dairy-producing areas. In Wisconsin 26 per cent of the farm vote swung from the Republican candidate for governor in 1952 to the Democratic candidate in 1954, with the same men running. When the impact of Republican farm policy, already clearly felt in dairy areas, is extended to other commodities, the Democrats may win new seats in Congress at many points in the great wheat and livestock belt.

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BOOKS

Ideas of Adolescence

ANDREW JACKSON: Symbol for an Age. By John William Ward. Oxford University Press. $4.75.

By Harry Barnard

ALREADY looming larger even than two hands of a common man, a legendary concept of Harry S. Truman is rising in the land and the way I hear it Mr. Truman is to emerge as another Andrew Jackson. This process, as such things go, may not be altogether objectionable, but it is bound to raise some questions about Mr. Truman and also about General Jackson.

Concerning Old Hickory, one question that comes to mind is why the modern Democratic Party has never really made much of him as a hero figure. In the Andy Jackson legend it would seem that the Democrats possess a ready-made, perfect counterbalance for the Abe Lincoln legend that serves the Republicans so well. It would also seem that Jackson could have been presented effectively all these years as an even more appealing figure than Lincoln, at least to the masses of industrial workers and working farmers. Yet this has not happened, and there was little attempt to make it happen in the decades after the Civil War, though before the Civil War, what with Jackson pole-raisings and the like, Jackson Day was the big day in the Democratic party calendar.

One reason for the Democrats' failure to capitalize more on Jackson as a politically meaningful and profitable myth may be a feeling that the Jackson legend is especially vulnerable, even for a legend. Or is it? It is curious that there should persist confusion about the meaning of Jackson, or of the legend, as well as of the Jackson age, when we have had some first-rate books, as well as other pieces, about Jackson in recent years, including Marquis James's fine study and Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr.'s superbly written "The Age of Jackson." Schlesinger's work, for all the praise it has received as a piece of literature, is odd as a piece of history in that it leaves the impression that it is less a study of Jackson and the Jackson age than a disguised vehicle for the author's views on the Roosevelt New Deal and especially the problem of modern liberalism.

Perhaps just as curious, and for somewhat the same reasons, is this new work on Jackson by Professor Ward of Princeton. Its title, "Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age," suggests a biography, or at least an essay on Jackson the man. But it is nothing of the kind. It is an attempt to accomplish in a way what the title of Professor Schlesinger's book promised—to give us understanding of the so-called age of Jackson. Ward does this, however, not by describing what was happening in America in the Jacksonian period, but by showing how Jackson symbolized, or was made to symbolize, certain important and basic ideas current in the America of the early nineteenth century.

Of Jackson himself, either by way of fact or of legend, not much will be found in this book, despite the title. But it is an important book. For what Professor Ward does, and with a clarity that makes him a delight to read, is to use the Andy Jackson legend as a device to illuminate aspects of the American political mind and character in an important formative period, aspects that are well worth illumination but are not necessarily pertinent only to Jackson or his day. He might just as effectively have used for his purpose U. S. Grant or William McKinley or Theodore Roosevelt, Calvin Coolidge, or even Dwight D. Eisenhower. For he deals with basic symbols and myths that continue to shape some basic American political attitudes.

It is Professor Ward's thesis that in the time of Jackson, as well as earlier, dominant American thinking with regard to the role of the United States on this continent and in the world has been along three main and related lines: (1) that America profited spiritually, as well as materially, from having been a new land, one in which its people were "close to nature," and that this newness and closeness to nature permitted it to escape the "corruption" and "decadence" that marked European countries and also endowed Americans with natural insight better than any to be obtained from study, especially study based on "book learning"; (2) that God had especially favored America and Americans and consequently Americans had the power as well as the responsibility of being the hope of a redeemed world, if the rest of the world would but adopt American ideas; and (3) that the representative American is a man who by the will to solve problems can solve them, and that in the style of "the self-made man" and "the self-reliant man," Americans can overcome obstacles to progress in a way not possible for Europeans or Asians.

THE significance of Andy Jackson in his era was not primarily that he was a "people's President" or the symbol of the Western frontier spirit, as he has been conventionally presented, but rather that his career, especially his astonishing victory over the British at New Orleans, made him a special symbol of the foregoing three concepts. But it is these concepts, not Jackson himself, which are important to know about Jackson's age, Professor Ward believes.

What makes this book important, as well as somewhat frightening, is the realization that its illumination of the Jacksonian era also tells much about the Age of Eisenhower (as well as the Age of Truman), even though Professor Ward scrupulously refrains from anticipating events or ideas beyond Jackson's time. For while the ideas, or even ideology, that Jackson so perfectly symbolized may be comforting or ego-satisfying to Americans, they are really ideas of adolescence—and also, I think, in large part fantasy. Also they are concepts which help to support, as well as explain, a distressing American penchant for every once in a while going in for binges of anti-intellectualism, the latest of which

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The H-Bomb Splits The English Church

Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth:

But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.—Matt., v, 38-39.

London

WHILE the United States was perpetuating the myth of defense against the atom, presenting a "mammoth" civil-defense demonstration in the Nevada desert, Christians in England were debating another aspect of the problem: Can a Christian offer a moral defense for manufacturing hydrogen bombs?

The Most Reverend Dr. Cyril Forster Garbett, Archbishop of York, second prelate of the Anglican church, thought he could. The British government's decision to produce H-bombs had presented him with "an agonizing challenge to conscience," he told the House of Lords, but since the Russians had the bomb and international control was no longer feasible, he saw no alternative. Although "I hate and detest" the making of H-bombs, and "wish to God they had never been invented . . . possession of the bomb seems to me to be at the moment the one possibility of preserving peace in the years immediately ahead." He admitted that Jesus's injunction against resisting evil "is an argument that must appeal to every Christian," but he believed no democratic government could agree to a demand to forego use of the bomb unless it was certain that the demand voiced "the deliberate convictions of the greatest majority of those it represents. Not the strongest pacifist can claim that this today is the case."

No pacifist came forward to make the claim, but Dr. Garbett set off an avalanche of soul-searching that is in many ways reminiscent of many previous efforts to make the church take a stand on God or man. English churchmen have commented as follows:

> We Christians have every right to proclaim that the use of the H-bomb is completely indefensible. We have no right to maintain silence. . . . Christians cannot commit themselves to a diabolical form of destruction which aims at the final blasphemy, the blotting out of the human race.—The Reverend Dr. W. Russell Shearer, president of the Methodist Conference.
>
> The fact that such terrible weapons should be made . . . is hard to reconcile with decent civilization. . . . I cannot well reconcile it with the will of God.—The Anglican Bishop of Chichester.
>
> My personal view is that under no circumstances can the manufacture of the H-bomb be justified.—The Right Reverend D. Conley Eades, moderator of the Presbyterian Church in England.

Letters to the editor were equally direct. Some representative ones from the London *Times, New Statesman and Nation,* and *Manchester Guardian* read:

> Dr. Garbett is still propounding a gospel that we must meet evil by evil, and that the great armaments will bring peace to the world, which is surely a contradiction of all our history. . . . [He] says that sermons and resolutions cannot turn away the threat of the bomb; surely this is proof that many people today are searching desperately for an answer to this problem, but the only reply they get from most church leaders is: Follow the state, we have no faith in the gospel we have proclaimed all our lives. . . . Let the Christian church give a lead.
>
> [Dr. Garbett's speech] means that almost the highest churchman in the land cannot take a full Christian position until he has the consent of the untutored and largely pagan masses.
>
> [Does the failure of] "the greatest majority" of men —in a West which, while claiming to make its stand in the name of Christian civilization, has so largely ceased to be Christian—[to] range themselves on the side of . . . Christian absolutes . . . absolve Christian leaders themselves from the duty of denouncing the use of these weapons? And is it really possible to condemn their use and yet rely, in any way, upon the threat of their unleashing? . . . It is surely high time for Christian bodies to speak out without anxiety upon this issue.

Pope Pius XII has already condemned the use of weapons which are beyond the control of man as "immoral" and "not lawful on any title." Cardinal Gerlier, Archbishop of Paris, categorically stigmatized atomic weapons as "aberrations . . . which dishonor humanity."

In the United States there is so far only a feeble echo of the great debate.

France and the 1956 Elections

Paris

THREE recent events here throw light on the political battle which will be taking place during the French national elections in 1956. The first event was General de Gaulle's press conference, attended by about 500 journalists. Physically and mentally the man who liberated France gave the impression of great strength; he spoke without notes and was quick and exact in replying to questions. But when at the end of the conference he said, "Goodbye, gentlemen—it may be for a long time," everyone in the room felt that they had been witnessing a kind of farewell performance.

The general displayed a good deal of sympathy for the current French regime, with which of course he disagrees on basic principles. He offered no magical formula for solving the vexing North African problem, saying merely that France must be "firm" without alienating the people it wants to retain as friends. On another issue he was more explicit. Asked whether he considered that recent events in Eastern Europe must be considered as part of a pattern or merely a series of coincidences, he said: "When a country has a foreign policy, it treats events as a whole and nothing happens by coincidence. Moscow has such a foreign policy. Hats

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the Cantonese troops who fought that battle, but comes forward in defense: "The criticism is unfair. Chiang had no authority to send a single soldier into battle. . . . What Chiang could do, he did; kept in touch with the officers of the Nineteenth Route Army by telegraph."

In describing the 1936 kidnaping of Chiang Kai-shek at Sian, Miss Hahn goes to the trouble of transplanting a "Communist government" to Sian to bemuse future historians but makes no mention of the Communists' important part in effecting the Generalissimo's release. Other interpretations bewilder, as where the author asserts that the duties of Chiang's secret police "smacked more of the Y. M. C. A. than is usual in modern armies" and adds that "something in him [Chiang] has always responded to the voice and spirit of Lord Baden-Powell."

But, with the contention of some political Calvinists that the Nationalists' loss of China was due to American witchcraft, it is World War II that brings Miss Hahn's story into its most controversial phase. Many of the props are by now familiar. The Institute of Pacific Relations makes a tired reappearance; foreign correspondents are depicted succumbing to the Communist spell; there are "bright young men from Washington" wandering about, "sending independent reports on the situation, making . . . their own promises to friends they had picked up beyond the Red frontier." And Miss Hahn holds that General Joseph W. Stilwell, that American soldier distinguished for his knowledge of China as for his sterling courage, was prejudiced and did not understand the Chinese character. "Not once did it occur to him that the Chinese method, . . . 'defense in depth,' which meant in blunt words simply running away until the enemy was tired out chasing you . . . might after all be the right one."

Miss Hahn deals summarily with the civil war that followed the second period of Kuomintang-Communist collaboration and V-J Day. She has a good quote at the end of her book to the effect that Chiang is "so obstinate he won't even stop trying," but omits the Generalissimo's 1949 New Year's message tendering the olive branch to the Communists and Nanking's request of January 8, 1949, to the United States, Britain, France, and the U. S. S. R. to mediate between the warring sides. She simply states that Chiang "walked out" at that stage of China's history and left Vice-President Li Tsung-jen in charge, declaring that "it isn't the Communists who have driven me out. It's the Kuomintang."

Chiang duly landed up in Formosa where, Miss Hahn says, his associates also made their several ways. "There were two outstanding exceptions—Li Tsung-jen, who was in America, and Feng Yu-hsiang." Apparently forgotten are other notable "exceptions": two of the three Soong Sisters, one of whom is in Peking and the other in New York; Sun Fo (son of Sun Yat-sen), H. H. Kung and T. V. Soong (Chiang's brothers-in-law—both ex-Finance Ministers), and Chen Li-fu (nephew of Chiang's early sponsor, Chen Chi-mei—and well-known head of the C-C Clique), who also reside in the United States; and a host of prominent former Chiang associates—Premiers, Cabinet Ministers, Generals, and Ambassadors—now with the Peking regime.

A faithful portrait of Chiang Kai-shek is yet to be drawn. The task is admittedly made difficult at this moment by his being a "controversial" figure, but Miss Hahn in "China to Me" scorned the influence of controversy by saying: "China doesn't have to depend on exaggeration. The truth would have been enough." The Generalissimo's real place in history will ultimately be determined in accord with that principle.

The Drama of the Mind

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL NOVEL, 1900-1950. By Leon Edel. J. B. Lippincott Company. $3.

By Jacob Korg

WHILE novelists have always paid at least token attention to the thoughts of their characters, only in the last fifty years have they attributed crucial importance to the weird flotsam and jetsam of fragmentary ideas that float on the surface of consciousness. In examining this development Professor Edel points out that the modern psychological novel, in spite of Freud, is concerned with conscious rather than subconscious thoughts, and that for all its occasional affinities with such arty influences as symbolism and surrealism, it is fundamentally a form of homely naturalism. The "stream of consciousness" does not copy actuality but, like naturalism, seeks to create the illusion that it does, presenting as its counterpart of the "slice of life" the thoughts that fill the mind in a "slice of time."

It is natural to ask precisely what the contribution of the moderns to psychological fiction has been. If Professor Edel is not very clear about this, perhaps the difficulty arises from his view that the founder of the new technique was Henry James. He shows that James, by composing some of his novels exclusively of material drawn from the thoughts of the characters, became the first novelist to create a drama of the mind. But James's method, the minute description of clearly formulated thoughts, is really a refinement of the character analysis of such traditional masters as Meredith and George Eliot rather than an anticipation of the monologues of Benjy Compson and Molly Bloom. The distinctive convention of modern psychological fiction is, after all, the imitation of thought. Since this device traces its descent to the novel which suggested the inner monologue to Joyce, Edouard Dujardin's "Les Lauriers sont coupes," attributing the modern innovation to James blurs a distinction which is otherwise quite clear.

THE discussion is somewhat clouded, also, by its failure to differentiate between the Tweedledum and Tweedledee of the fiction reviewer, "stream of consciousness" and "inner monologue." William James coined the expression "stream of consciousness" to describe the fluid passage of thought. "Inner monologue," as Professor Gleb Struve has recently found, goes back beyond Dujardin, who is generally

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credited with inventing it, to the Russian critic, Chernyshevsky, who used it in 1856 to describe the style of Tolstoy's stories about the battle of Sebastopol. Do the terms really mean the same thing, as Professor Edel seems to assume?

One of the central questions in this inquiry is: since the only mind accessible to the stream-of-consciousness author is his own, can the psychological novel be anything but autobiography? This seeming paradox is pursued over a path that cuts across Proust, James, Virginia Woolf, and Joyce, and skirts Dorothy Richardson and Faulkner, to the bland conclusion that autobiographical material can be transformed into art by appropriate methods. The problem has a certain relevance, but both its formulation and its solution seem to miss the astonishing talent many authors have for reproducing the thoughts of people totally unlike themselves. Joyce's advertising canvasser and Faulkner's idiot are products, not of autobiography, but empathy. They seem to have been created by bringing a modern awareness of the mind's complexity to the old-fashioned novelist's practice of observing the behavior of people and reflecting on it.

It must have been a strong temptation for authors who wrote in the days of the excitement created by Bergson and Freud to surrender completely to the new mystery of the mind, but none of the great psychological novelists did. In fact, Professor Edel's survey leads to the inference that they were less impressed by the creative power of the imagination than by the pathetic spectacle of limited minds lost in an external world they cannot encompass.

The Citizen at the Polls

VOTING. By Bernard A. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee. The University of Chicago Press. $7.50.

By Marc Karson

"VOTING" is an analytical study of factors affecting the voting behavior of one thousand citizens of Elmira, New York, in the 1948 Presidential election. The material was obtained in four waves of interviews using the "area" and "panel" technique, which was recognized by the authors as under-representing marginal groups. The study confirms countless earlier hypotheses and presents some new ones: (1) the more partisan the voter, the more he projects his own stand on an issue to his party's candidate; (2) when the choice of the voter's party is not supported by both friends and religion, a change in voting intention may result; (3) for the undecided voter, judgments formed earlier in life and the opinion of friends become crucial.

Unlike many projects, this one was concerned with the subjective as well as the objective forces affecting voter behavior. Politics cannot be separated from its human motivation; to consider the surface phenomena of any behavior without attention to the wellsprings of unconscious conflict would be to forget the submerged mass of the iceberg. "Voting" shows that a citizen's political acts are not based on purely rational considerations. Nevertheless, the resultant political structure functions in a logical way. Although democratic theory anticipates citizens who discuss, participate, and vote, political disinterestedness has its merits. "Extreme interest goes with extreme partisanship and might culminate in rigid fanaticism that could destroy democratic processes." For the authors, a heterogeneous population in which class, group, and individual characteristics balance and check one another is democracy's greatest safeguard. Political equilibrium is for them the desideratum.

The defects of "Voting" lie in its final interpretation of its data. Completely neglected is the impact of economic factors on social and political development. Yet a political system does not exist in a vacuum. The rise of the liberal state, and its death in some countries, suggests how new political forms are brought into being by economic forces. American economic power influences politics, education, social organizations, and the mass media, thus making the business man's *mores* a powerful force in American culture. Inevitably, great wealth means power over the state and over men, and the purpose to which this power is put is not the realization of the best in each individual.

The report describes a "democratic citizen" whose political activity is determined by status needs, selfish desires, "misperceptions" of issues, in fact, by almost everything but intelligent discrimination and principle. Should not the next step in the inquiry be to ask why the voter is like this? What factors in our culture have brought him to this pass? Must he be this way—if not, wherein does our society fail him? The authors' crusade for political balance in our system obscures these crucial questions. The durability of a tradition, political democracy not excepted, depends on its ability to gratify its supporters. Stability in American political life will be a result of, not an exception to, stability in economic life. And economic stability will be in danger until our ability to distribute goods

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volve Germany. One is that the dynamics of the current situation will inevitably lead to German dominance over Europe. The other is that Chancellor Adenauer may have prevailed upon his Western colleagues to accept his plan for prolonging East-West negotiations and conferences over a long period of time. This tactic is admirably adapted to gaining the time necessary for bringing the Wehrmacht into being. It is also adapted to wrecking the great opportunity which the Geneva meeting offers for the solution of some immediate critical problems and for the general easing of the cold war.

In the meantime the concept of a kind of non-aggression pact between the Western Alliance and the Soviet bloc, as a substitute for a neutrality belt between the two, is gaining ground. This, too, is a plan which Adenauer has been pushing. Clearly it is the intention of the West to pursue this idea at Geneva.

TROUBLE IN PARADISE

The Miami Hotel Strike . . *by B. L. Donaldson*

Miami Beach, Florida

RA-TA-TA-TA, ra-ta-ta-ta, ra-ta-ta-ta goes the staccato melody of the riveter's hammer on the steel beam. Another building, probably a hotel, going up. Downtown, along Collins Avenue and Lincoln Road, gaily dressed tourists fill the sidewalks, restaurants, and smart shops. The beaches are crowded with sun worshipers. A steady stream of traffic clogs the arteries in and out of the city—cars from every state in the nation and from Canada, Hawaii, Nassau, Cuba, Mexico. By airplane, train, and bus they come from all points of the compass.

To all appearances this modern city of 50,000 people, having been transformed recently from a winter resort to a year-round pleasure resort, is bustling with business and summertime activities. But behind the facade of prosperity things are not so rosy. Miami Beach has been hit hard by a labor dispute affecting the city's nearly 400 hotels. The damage cannot be accurately measured, but it undoubtedly runs into hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Twenty-two of the biggest-name hotels have suffered the most. They are not saying, publicly or privately, what the cost has been, but the Miami Beach Hotel Association admits that hotel business in general is off at least 10 per cent from this time last year. Other sources say it is off nearly 50 per cent. Whatever the actual figure, hotels form the backbone of the city's economy, and when they get a jolt everyone else feels it.

The 400 hotels employ at present about 10,000 people. Most of them are residents of the Greater Miami area. Very few are Negroes, but a large number of them are Cubans and Puerto Ricans. When the winter season gets under way in the late fall, another 5,000 to 7,000 persons, many of them "professional" hotel workers now employed in the Catskills and other Northern resort areas, will be on the pay rolls.

In past years several half-hearted attempts to organize these workers have been made. They got nowhere. Only one hotel, the Delano, has a union contract. This year, however, the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union (A. F. of L.) decided that the industry was "ripe" for organization. The groundwork was laid. Late this winter the international picked David Herman, president of its New York City local, to run the show. Miami Beach Local 255, which was chartered in 1954, began an all-out drive for members.

The union announced at civic meetings and in the newspapers that it was organizing hotel employees and that it was going to ask the hotels to recognize it as the employees' collective-bargaining agent. It wrote to the Miami Beach Hotel Association requesting that hotel owners sit down and negotiate. Taking the attitude that it couldn't speak for the hotels in labor negotiations, the association did not even reply. The union then approached individual hotel owners. It got the brush-off. On April 13 the union called a strike at the Saxony and the Monte Carlo, contending that the workers were overworked and underpaid. Since then it has struck or picketed nineteen hotels here and three in Miami, across Biscayne Bay.

An estimated 3,000 hotel employees have struck to back up the union's demand for recognition and the right to negotiate contracts for them, but the courts have repeatedly ruled against the union, and picket lines have now been temporarily banned at all but two hotels. This situation has come about chiefly because Florida is in what the union describes as a legal no man's land. Florida is one of the eighteen states that have adopted "right-to-work" laws, which means that everyone has the right to work whether he is a union member or not. The law makes it difficult to void anti-picketing injunctions, for there is no working definition of what constitutes a strike. Florida employers must recognize and bar-

York Gazette and Daily

The Real Father of Scab Laws

BRYAN L. DONALDSON is on the staff of the Miami Herald.

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Records

B. H. Haggin

THIS appendix to my recent articles on reproducing equipment is about the new Janszen Model 130 electrostatic speaker ($161 in a service enclosure) that I am now using with the woofer of my Bozak 207-A in the country. Since its range begins at 1000 cycles it is more than a tweeter, and Janszen describes it as "a wide-range electrostatic transducer." What is important is the sound it produces, which is not only astonishingly beautiful but different in kind from the beautiful sound of other speakers. What strikes me is the cleanness of the sound, its freedom from all impurities (resonances etc.)—even the impurities that are now revealed to exist in the sound of the Bozak that seemed so clean and sweet. And also the fact that the sound seems simply to be there without the slightest effort or strain, rather than to be produced. With the one Bozak woofer I get sound with completely satisfactory balance of treble and bass, but not with the additional impressive solidity down below that I heard when the Janszen was used with two woofers. I don't like to think of what the Janszen may make the beautiful highs of my LC-1A speaker sound like in the fall.

And an additional word on steep roll-offs. They create ringing resonances that are undesirable and can be disturbing, but that are less so than the defects they have to be used to take care of. When one has a record which produces a hash of high-frequency tracking distortion (e. g. near the center of the record) or break-ups of vocal sound, and when one has eliminated all possibility of defect in the cartridge or in the mounting of the arm and all hope of improvement in other copies of the record, then one has to accept the lesser evil of a ringing resonance introduced by a steep roll-off at 10,000 cycles that preserves the brightness of the sound while it eliminates the high-frequency distortion and break-ups (the gradual 6-db-per-octave roll-off that would eliminate the defects would cut back so far as to eliminate the brightness of the sound). I have been speaking of a wide-range LP recording of today; but the same thing is true of the steep roll-offs at lower points that are needed for the distortion and break-ups of the Victor LP dubbings of the old Glyndebourne Festival recordings of "Figaro," "Cosi," and "Don Giovanni" and the old Lehmann-Olszewska-Schumann-Mayr recording of "Der Rosenkavalier," and for the noise of old 78s.

VOX, which a few years ago issued all twelve of Vivaldi's Concerti Grossi Op. 3, "L'estro armonico," followed this a year ago with the unfamiliar twelve Violin Concertos Op. 4, "La stravaganza," of which only a movement here and there proved to be comparable with the wonderfully beautiful works in "L'estro armonico." Now Vox has issued on the three records of DL-173 the twelve Violin Concertos Op. 8, "Il cimento dell' armonia e dell' invenzione," of which the first four are the well-known "Four Seasons," and the other unfamiliar ones turn out to be—with the exception of No. 5—equally fine, and extraordinary in the variety of the invention with which Vivaldi fills out the same scheme over and over again. The works are played well by Barchet with the Stuttgart Pro Musica String Orchestra under Reinhardt. And unusual enough to be worth mentioning is that the de luxe album offers a de luxe brochure of notes —de luxe not just in format but in the soberly accurate information supplied by Joseph Braunstein, as against the pretentious fake of most record envelopes and fancy brochures.

THE charming music from Bizet's unfamiliar "Roma" Symphony that Balanchine used in his ballet of that title is performed well by Barzin with the New York City Ballet Orchestra on Vox PL-9320; but recording in an excessively live studio and at too close range gives the playing a coarseness that can be reduced by cutting down treble and volume. This isn't necessary with the final movement, which is less live and loses volume near the end. On the reverse side is the Chabrier music of Balanchine's "Bourree fantasque"; and about this one thing to say is that while it is understandable that only the concluding section of the "March joyeuse" should be played as a prelude to the ballet in the theater, it is shocking that Barzin doesn't play the entire piece in a recorded performance that is going to be listened to for itself. And another is that the sound is as muffled as if an accidental throwing of a wrong switch had cut out the treble entirely.

VOX also gives us the entire suite that Prokofiev arranged from his superb early ballet score "Chout," played well by Horenstein with the Paris Philharmonica Orchestra on PL-9180 (with the inconsequential "Lieutenant Kije" Suite). It now ap- Paris Philharmonia Orchestra on formance with the St. Louis Symphony on Capital P-8257, omitted a few movements; but on the other hand his performance offers orchestral playing of greater refinement of execution and sonority, and greater clarity and refinement of recorded sound.

I keep hoping for a good performance of the original piano version of Musorgsky's "Pictures at an Exhibition," and keep being disappointed by each new one that is issued—the latest being Alfred Brendel's on Vox PL-9140 (with an arrangement of Stravinsky's "Petrushka" Suite and Balakirev's "Islamey"). What is wrong is the imaginative perception that embodies itself in, among other things, the tempos: the fast pace of *Promenade* is, most obviously, not the leisurely saunter of a person looking at pictures. And if the rushing which Brendel does at times suggests that he may be trying to get the entire piece on one side of the record, that notion is contradicted by his dragging of *The Old Castle*.

Another disappointment is Jose Falgarona's performances of all twelve of the engaging pieces in the four books of Albeniz's "Iberia" on Vox PL-9212. Falgarona's excessively mannered playing, often unclear in execution and producing a lack of clarity in the complex texture, has taught me to appreciate Arrau's simple and unfailingly clear performances of Books 1 and 2 on Columbia ML-4194.

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Letters

More Tributes on The Nation's Birthday

Dear Sirs: Integrity is implied in the magazine's name. The Nation should represent the very qualities and ideals for which our nation stands. Otherwise the title would be a libel. And I think that The Nation's courage, its candor, its sense of urgency and dedication, and its refusal to be intimidated either by the powerful or the puny has reflected in journalism the things that make us deeply grateful for our nation.

EDWIN McNEILL POTEAT
Minister of the Pullen Memorial Baptist Church
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Sirs: Congratulations on topic chosen for dinner forum and best wishes for success. Your focusing of attention could create turning point from destructive to constructive use. May the crusading spirit displayed by The Nation for ninety years continue unabated to serve our country as part of an interdependent world.

L. D. MacINTYRE
President, American Ethical Union
New York

[We thank sincerely the many friends who have sent us birthday greetings and apologize for the fact that space limitations make it impossible to publish all of them.—Editors The Nation.]

Allan Garland Harper

Dear Sirs: Allan G. Harper, aged 54 years, died April 29, at Espanola, New Mexico. He died too soon, by many years. But his too-few years were enough to encompass much of North American and Pan-American aspirations, strivings, and causes which momentarily seem clouded or lost. His identification was with civil liberties, natural resources, conservation, watershed management, and American Indians. He spent himself even to the bitter end.

I write of Allan Harper with a somewhat mournful intensity. Through Roger Baldwin's initiative, he moved in 1933 from greatly successful civil-liberties work into American Indian work. He replaced myself as executive officer of the American Indian Defense Association. I had become Commissioner of Indian Affairs, U. S. Department of the Interior. In 1934, though not a member of the government, he served as one of three who drafted the Indian Reorganization Act in its final form as enacted last year. In 1935, through the initiative of Harold Ickes and myself, he became a field representative of the Indian Commissioner; and until 1937 he headed that unit of the Indian Bureau which assisted a hundred Indian tribes to organize and incorporate under the Reorganization Act. Thereafter, for five years he directed the work of soil and water conservation in the western Indian areas; and this work included the tri-cultural problems of the Rio Grande River in New Mexico.

On leave from the Indian Bureau from 1934, Harper worked in the Inter-American field; previously he had helped to establish the Inter-American Institute of the Indian, a research and action institute, which continues its work from headquarters in Mexico through most of the hemisphere.

Returning to Indian Service in 1946, Harper became identified with the Missouri River Basin problems. In 1949 he assumed the most difficult post of Superintendent of the Navajo Reservation. His supreme effort was to carry Navajo administration out from Washington and out from Window Rock (the central Navajo headquarters) to the people at the grass roots of Navajo life. This effort consumed Harper and aged him. He transferred to the Washington Bureau of Indian Affairs as a program director on April 1, 1954. There frustration enveloped him and killed him.

Creativity and realism, democracy and freedom had become outlawed in the Indian Service. A bitterness filled Allan Harper's soul. Too much of all that was within him had been burnt up through defeated, through unyielding, endeavor. He is buried beside his first wife, Kathleen, at Fort Defiance on the Navajo Reservation. He has left a son, Edward Neil Harper, aged 17 years, and his second wife, Eloise Lovine. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has revealed to the public no information about the death of one to whom all Indians and all America owe much. But history will know what he represented and what he did.

JOHN COLLIER
New York

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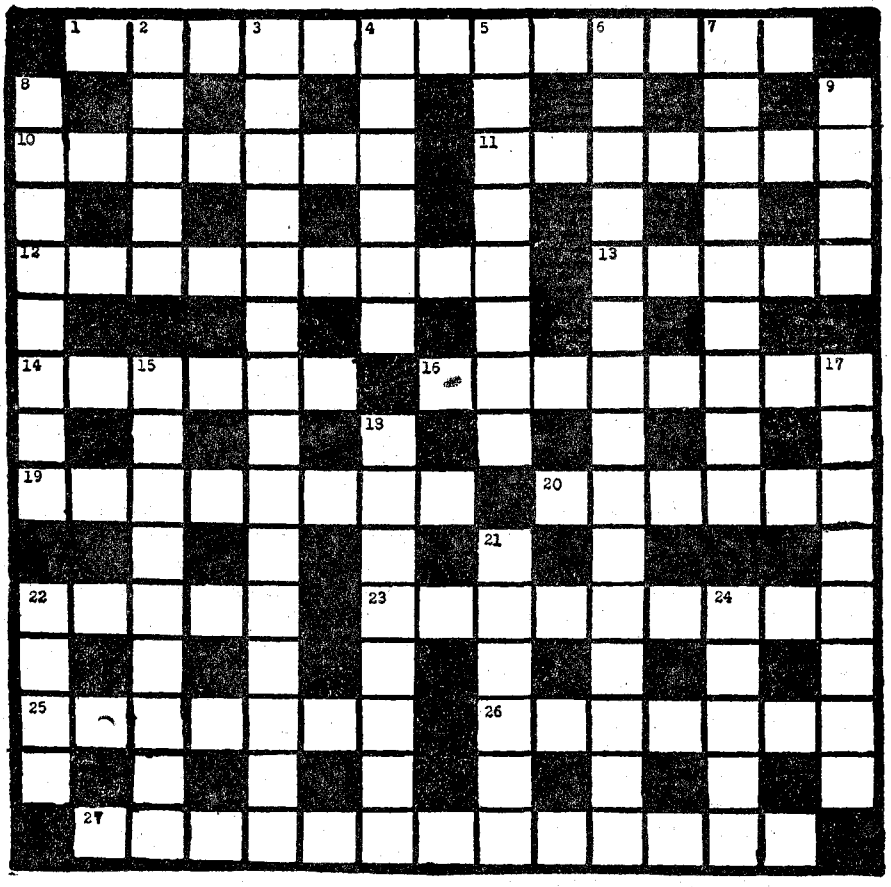
Crossword Puzzle No. 628

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Dance-spot enclosure? (4-5,4)
10 Rush around loose when free and easy. (7)
11 Cries, in a peaceful way. (7)
12 Sine curves, but no sign of success! (9)
13 You might so gather a finer product. (5)
14 One-barred flag. (6)
16 Oil embedded in clays, as most are acceptable. (8)
19 Scared me with a loud noise, no doubt! (8)
20 Suggests a fine-looking carriage. (6)
22 A curve as representing a given function. (5)
23 All set to return the cheese? (You might buy such things right off the racks.) (5,4)
25 With three replaceable hydrogen atoms. (7)
26 Upgrade. (7)
27 In the arts, girls allow the rest to finish poorly. (6,7)

DOWN

2 A British general got by with this in Palestine. (5)
3 Relating to where you can find the answer, if necessary. (15)
4 What people sometimes take in church and give in the service. (6)
5 It's a bad sin to be in the corner. (8)
6 The lower part of the card. (11,4)
7 Are the ten-penny variety tabbed here? (9)
8 See 22 down.
9 Not sure who employed it? (4)
15 Realizes I should be put out in several editions! (9)
17 Evidently there's a sweet-potato color about me! (8)
18. She is disturbed about the appearance of the one who is given away. (8)
21 Very quiet in the valley spot. (6)
22 and 8 down Do they wreck bars in a different way than Carry Nation? (4,8)
24 How to make a rhyme at one of the poles? (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 627

ACROSS: 1 and 7 down WATCH CHAINS; 4 ARCTIC; 11 CAMORRA; 12 RIVIERA; 13 INTER ALIA; 14 RIPEN; 15 CREDITABILITY; 17 BASEBALL GAMES; 22 NABOB; 24 CLOSE CALL; 25 LANTERN; 26 NEOLITH; 27 and 6 down X MARKS THE SPOT; 28 ADIEU. DOWN: 2 AMMETER; 3 CARTRIDGE; 5 ROVER; 8 ACRID; 9 BALLET DANCING; 10 TRIAL BALLOONS; 16 LEASEHOLD; 18 ALBANIA; 19 EVASIVE; 20 INFLUX; 21 ALOHA; 23 BLEAK.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York

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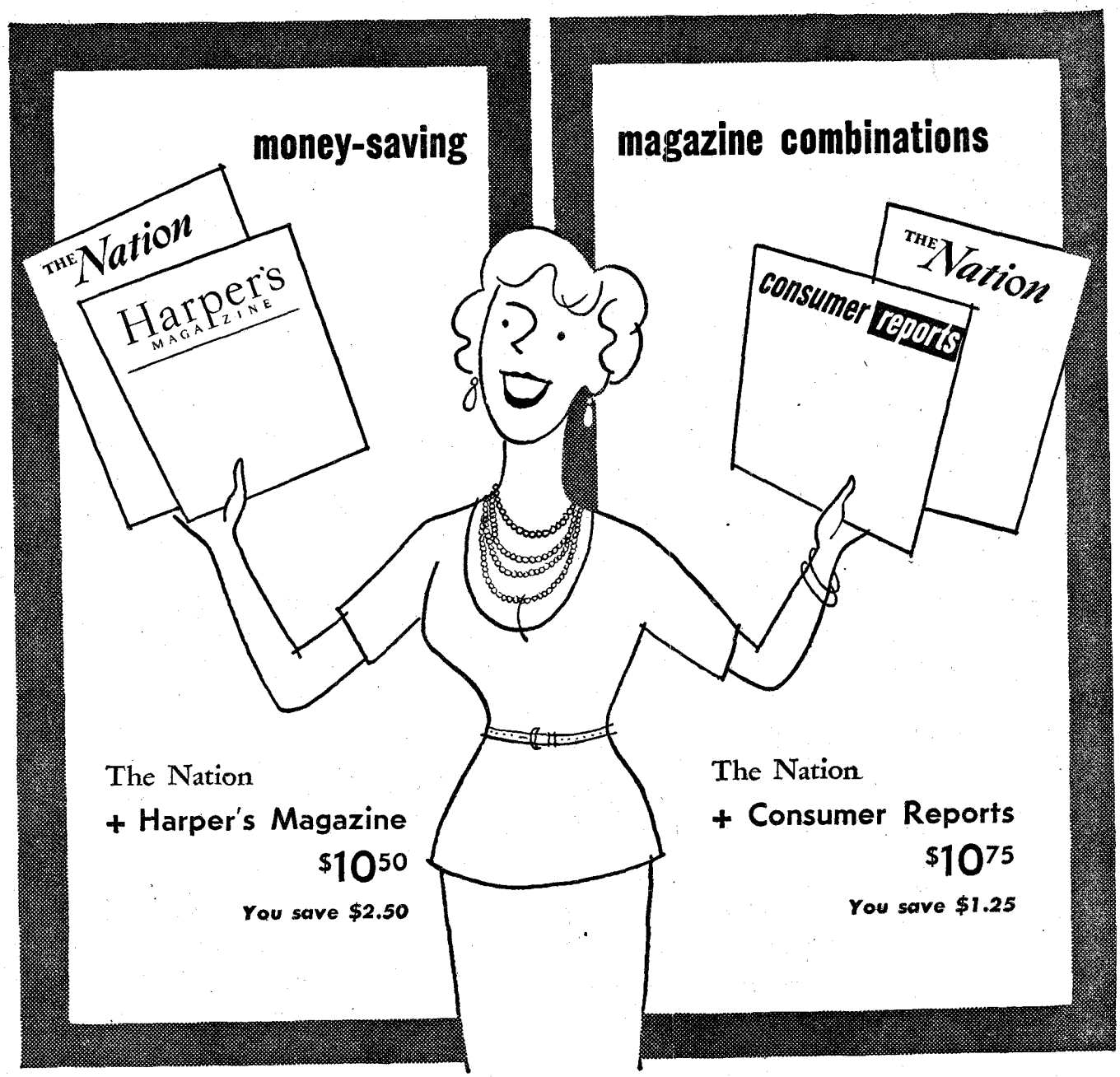

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